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601 father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife, wife's brother,* and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband, husband's brother,* and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law,* for the parents of his or her spouse.

601 The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two fur-
• 608 ther categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category
572 of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[8] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

561 The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by
862 relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods,
882 weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[8] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65–68.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] [304] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a • [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the *in-group*, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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882 602 578 ***sister's son*** **(i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[24] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[25] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.**

882 • 608 881 628 **Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[26] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[27] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the**

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[24] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[25] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[26] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[27] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[614] [621]

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 AKWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiima hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[865] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother*
[601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
• 608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
[881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though
[574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite
[754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos
[765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to
[764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son*****. The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend*****, and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."